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Notre Dame Award Acceptance Speech by John Hume April 25, 1996

Father Malloy, thank you for what you have said. I am honored to be here this evening with my wife, Pat, to receive the honor of this very distinguished university, the University of Notre Dame du Lac.

But I see the honor conferred on me not as a strictly personal honor but as a very powerful and strong expression of your enormous interest and encouragement in the peace process that is at last happening in our off-shore island of the United States of Europe and of the United States of America. And I hope that we are now in the final stages of a quarrel that has lasted for centuries. It started in the streets of my own city in 1689 — The Siege of Derry. It is still celebrated — that battle — every year. We have long memories in Northern Ireland. One of our political parties' election slogan, every time it fights an election, is "Remember 1690." I hope we will have got to the stage where we will begin to realize that we are now in the 1990s and that we will be in the final stages of centuries of conflict — centuries of conflict which have absorbed the energies of our people in destroying our land rather than building our land, centuries which have absorbed their energies in spilling their blood rather than their sweat. And I hope that if we get them to spill their sweat rather than their blood, that the patriotism of the new century in Ireland will be building our country and not destroying it.

The last 25 years have been among the worst of those three centuries of conflict. In Northern Ireland, which has a population of a million and a half people, the real result of our conflict — the terrible loss — has been 3,100 human lives, and 38,000 people maimed and injured for life. That's one out of 505 people have lost their lives, one out of 50 people have lost limbs or been seriously injured. In population terms, that is the equivalent of half a million people dying in the United States. It is the equivalent of 18,000 people dying in the state where we now sit, the State of Indiana. This lets you know how serious that problem has been.

But in addition to the killing of human beings, it has been necessary to build in the city of Belfast — the foremost church-going city in western Europe on both sides of our divide — it has been necessary to build, even as the Berlin Wall fell, not one, but 13 walls in the city of Belfast to separate and protect one section of Christian people from another. Where has the basic fundamental message of Christianity gone? I mean, the real message of peace in this world, that is, Love Thy Neighbor. A simple statement, but when you think of it, it is the pow-

erful message of peace. But where is it in that city? Thirteen walls to separate and protect one sect of our people from another.

Those walls are an indictment of all of us because they scream at us, but our own past attitudes have built them. But that is a negative way of looking at them. A positive way of looking at them is that they are now a challenge to us all, and the challenge to both sides of our quarrel is to re-examine past attitudes, because if we are ever going to bring those walls down, both past attitudes from both sections of our people have got to be re-examined. Because when you study our conflict, or when you study conflict anywhere in the world, you will find that the same mindsets, the same mentalities exist. The unionist mindsets. The unionist people are largely from the Protestant community. Their objective is to protect their difference and their identity and I have no quarrel with that because every society has its differences and its diversity, and unless you respect that you will not have peace and stability.

My quarrel with the unionist people is not about their objective. It is about their methods and their mindset, because their methods have been that because they are a minority within Ireland as a whole, the only way they can protect themselves in Northern Ireland is to hold all power in their own hands and exclude anyone who is not one of them. That in practice meant that if you were a Catholic in Northern Ireland, when they governed it as a one-party state from 1920 until 1970, it meant you didn't get jobs and you didn't get housing and you didn't get voting rights. When I was a young teacher, I did not have a vote because I was not a rate payer. But the mayor of the city had 43 votes because he owned seven small companies as well as his own vote and he got six votes for each one of his companies and one for himself. That was the situation. And of course at the end of the day, discrimination in widespread terms is bound to lead to conflict.

So the challenge to the unionist people is to re-examine that mindset and to recognize that, rather than the siege mentality from which they suffer, their real mindset should be that because of their geography and their numbers, since the problem cannot be resolved without them, they should come to the table with the strength of their own convictions and the strength of that geography and numbers and reach agreement with the people with whom they share a piece of earth called Ireland. And in coming to that, I would hope that they would bring forward the positive elements of the Protestant tradition. Because all we have seen to date in their politics has been the negative tradition. All their slogans are negative. "No surrender." "Not an inch." "What we have we hold." "Ulster says no." I said to Reverend Ian

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Paisley on television recently, "Ian, if you took the word no out of the English language, you would be speechless." In any case, that is my challenge to them, because the siege mentality has in some degree dried up their creativity as a people.

But let us not forget that those of the Protestant tradition in Ireland, particularly the Presbyterian tradition, were in earlier centuries, like the Catholic population, subjected to serious religious intolerance by the then-established church in Ireland. And they were driven out, and they came to this land, to the United States, and were heavily involved in the shaping and foundation of the constitution of this country. Indeed, the American Declaration of Independence was printed by John Dunlop from Strabane — in my parliamentary district. And the old printing press, for that man was trained as a printer, is still there on that street, and I have often thought if it were in Philadelphia, it would be a national shrine. And the first secretary of the American Congress was a Presbyterian from the upper lands in County Derry. When you look at your constitution and look at its fundamental statement, I often feel that it is a mistake that America allows itself to be seen either as an economic or a political power in this world rather than a moral power, because when that constitution was written, it was written to respect peoples of many traditions and nations who had been driven out of their homelands by intolerance, poverty, famine and the like. And the most fundamental message of your constitution is written, if you look at it, on your cheapest coin. If your eyesight is not good enough to read it there, go to the grave of Abraham Lincoln and there you will see it written in three Latin words, "e pluribus unum," "from many we are one." The essence of unity is the respect, is the acceptance of diversity. And that is the message of peace to every country, particularly countries that have divided peoples.

That is the philosophy that Ireland is screaming out for today. And I say to the Protestant tradition, bring forward that philosophy now — respect for diversity.

Then there is the other mindset in Ireland, with which many of us were reared and, indeed, many Irish Americans as well: the nationalist mindset. Essentially a territorial mindset. This is our land, and you unionists, because you are a minority, cannot stop us from uniting. They forget, they forget, that mindset forgets, that it is people who have rights, not territory. Without people, any piece of earth, as I always say, is only a jungle. And the only wealth that this world has is human beings. And it is human beings who create. And when human beings are divided, whether it is in Ireland, Cyprus, the former Yugoslavia, South Africa, or anywhere, they can only be brought together by agreement and not by any form of coercion or force. And killing has no contribution to

make to uniting people. It only drives them farther apart. It only deepens the divisions, deepens the prejudices and leads, of course, to retaliation and, as Martin Luther King described it, the old doctrine of "an eye for an eye" which leaves everybody blind.

Our tradition in Ireland has to learn that victories are not solutions in divided societies, but that agreement is the answer when you have a divided people. And, of course, the challenge to the two mindsets that I have been setting out both lead in the same direction, both looking for an agreement as to how we share a piece of earth together. And that would mean that the responsible government in that situation should also be doing everything in its power to promote such an agreement, and using all its resources to do so. At last, through the current peace process, we have finally got the British government committed to working together with the Irish government to, and I am quoting exactly from the Downing Street Declaration, "to encourage, facilitate and enable agreement among the people of Ireland, and to legislate for whatever form that agreement takes."

It is easy, of course, to do as I have just been doing, pointing to the wrongs of the past. Looking to the future is a little more difficult, because then you have to exercise your mind to look at solutions and what those solutions could be. But in that, I have been very heavily inspired by my experience in Europe as a member of the European Parliament and before that, because my original job was teaching French and history, I was very interested and involved in Europe for most of my life. And when you consider today, European union, and I know it is not thought about much in America, but European union is the result of the same lesson your founders learned — "e pluribus unum." Think back 50 years. A hundred and thirty-five million people lay dead across the European continent, for the second time in a century. For centuries the peoples of Europe slaughtered one another by the millions. Who could have forecast 50 years ago today that we would have European union, the peoples of Europe united in one body? And the Germans are still Germans, and the French are still French. How did they do it? Because European union is, in my opinion, the greatest example in the history of the world of conflict resolution, and it is the duty of everyone in the area of conflict to study how they did it. And how did they do it? As in everything in life, profundities and profound statements of principle are simplicities. They decided the difference was not a threat. Because all conflict is about seeing difference as a threat and trying to wipe out the difference or take revenge for difference. And the answer to difference, as the founders of this state realized, is not to fight about it but to respect it. Because when you think of it, there are not two human beings in this room who are the same. There are not two human beings in the entire hu-

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man race who are the same. Difference is an accident of birth and it is with you all your life. No one chose to be born. So whatever you are born, whatever race you are born into, whatever nationality you are born into, whatever religion, it is an accident of birth that you are born into it, and the answer is not to fight about it. The answer is to respect it and to build together.

The peoples of Europe learned that lesson and built institutions in Europe. Now I am a member of one of them — the European Parliament. Those institutions respected differences, gave no victory to anyone. But, but, but. . . the most important thing is they allowed all to work together in their common interests, spilling their sweat and not their blood, working for their basic right to existence, the right to life and the right to a decent standard of living. And by spilling their sweat and not their blood, by working together and building trust, the healing process began in Europe, breaking down the old prejudices, the barriers that had divided them for centuries. And the healing process evolved into a new Europe based on respect for diversity, and is still evolving.

That is what we have to do on our small island. Build institutions within the North, between North and South, which respect our differences but which allow us to work together in our common interests, which are even more considerable today than in the past, because we are the off-shore island of the United States of Europe now, and of the United States of America. Our economic interests are common, because our young people still, from many parts of our land, have to go to other lands to earn their living. Therefore, I think that we have to build those institutions and, having done so, create the healing process of working together on the economic front, breaking down the barriers that divide us, because the simplistic notions that have been always put forward in many ways, say an instant package will solve our problems, unite Ireland next week and the problem is solved. That is simplistic. That is emotional.

But the reality is that the border in Ireland is not a line on a map, it is in the minds and hearts of people, and it is a border created by the prejudices of centuries. You don't heal that in a week or a fortnight. You need a healing process. And that is why we have to create the institutions that will allow for that healing process to take place.

So when we get to these talks on the 10th of June, which I hope that we will now, in spite of all the difficulties being put in our way by having elections that are unnecessary, etcetera, etcetera, I hope that when we get there, we will work to reach that agreement. And while we are working to reach that political agreement, which will not be easy, we will work too toward our common ground — and I will come back to that in a moment because that is

where I think the Irish in other lands have a role to play. But whatever agreement we reach at a political level, once we have reached it and our quarrel is stopped and we start working together, then the real healing process will begin and the new Ireland will evolve and in a generation or two we will have an Ireland built on respect for diversity and on agreement among our formerly divided people.

Of course, in shaping that new Ireland, I believe that the people of the Irish diaspora have a great role to play. The Irish are, as I often say, the most numerous wandering people in the world. There are five million people who live in Ireland; there are 42 million in this country of Irish descent, according to the last census. But, of course, when the ancestors of that diaspora left Ireland, it was a different world. Many of them — we just had a major exhibition in my home city last week — came a hundred and fifty years ago, fleeing famine, in sailing ships taking weeks to get here, and many died on the way. That's why, before they left, the "American wake" was held for them, because when they left, their families knew they would never see them again. There is a very moving gravestone in a churchyard near my home on which it says, "This is the grave of William Dougherty, set here by his son who is gone to America," and the son is named. And then it says, "this stone must not be moved until I return." In other words, it would be moved only to bury him, but of course he never did return.

In today's world, the Irish who came here from both our traditions, Protestant and Catholic, have in many instances moved to the top in the professions, in business and in politics. And because we are a smaller world today, with telecommunications, transport, and the like, the time has come that the Irish diaspora can give back and can help our small island, and one area of real help is on the economic front, as both sections of our people work toward common ground. If, for example, the 42 million people who were proud enough of their Irish descent to insist in the last census that they were Irish in America, if they spent only \$5 a week on some product from Ireland, that would be \$10 billion in one year and the Irish economy would go through the roof. That may sound like a dream, but in today's world it is achievable, because there is no part of Ireland that does not have a special link with some part of the United States.

In my city, Derry, they say the next parish is Boston. And it is true. Because you got on the sailing ship in my city and sailed to Boston. And I've set up special links with Boston. We have taken our small companies over there to market their products with the help of the Irish in Boston. To date, we have got \$42 million worth of orders for those small companies, creating jobs. If we can organize right across the United States, different parts of

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Ireland linking up directly with the parts of the United States with which they have special relationships and building trade partnerships directly — not by paying fortunes but by using direct personal contacts — then together we can build that new Ireland.

And, of course, universities have a major role to play in that effort. For one, by building special links with universities back in Ireland and giving broader horizons to our young people through exchange programs of staff and students. But there is an even more important job to be done. As we move into the next century, we are living through the greatest economic revolution in the history of the world. The last one was the industrial revolution; now we are going through the technological, telecommunications and transport revolution. As I said earlier, the only wealth of the world is human beings and their creativity, and education is key to developing that creativity and developing the world. For that very reason, education will become more and more important to the economic future of our world, and so as we move into the next century, education is going to have a very, very major role.

I hope also, because the world now is a smaller place, that the Irish nation — and I am going to find a different word for that eventually — but let us say the definition of Irish identity is no longer confined to those who live on the island itself. Let us develop for the next century a concept of Irishness that the Irish all over the world share in a positive way, so that we can all come together. And you know if we do that, we can become the most powerful people in the world, because we are not only in America, we are in Australia, we are in Argentina, we are in France (the first president of the republic was General "MacMahon," as they called him there; we called him McMahon) and in New Zealand and everywhere. And if we develop that concept for the next century, of certificates of Irish identity, and build on that to give back to the old homeland, then I think the next century will be — and this is my dream — the first century in our island's history in which we will have no blood on our streets and no emigration of our young to other lands to earn a living.

Thank you.

Dedication of Craig House at the Environmental Research Center by Rev. Edward A. Malloy, C.S.C. July 11, 1996

Dr. George Craig

About one year ago, on July 21, 1995, when the Officers' Group was at Land O'Lakes, UNDERC facilities here were dedicated and blessed in memory of Jim Hank and in the presence of the Hank family, N.D. faculty and students, Father Hesburgh and Dr. George Craig.

About six months ago, George died while attending a professional conference in Nevada.

Because of his special professional interest in and dedication to the type of research for which this beautiful property is especially apt and appropriate, George spent much time here each summer.

Generations of Notre Dame students discovered the same excitement for research that was one of the driving forces of his own distinguished career.

It is appropriate that we dedicate this faculty house, where George Craig spent many weeks each summer, in memory and honor of this Notre Dame scholar.

Blessing

Lord God,

We praise you for the wonder of your creation and for the beauty which surrounds us at every turn.

You make us in your own likeness, as the crowning moment of your creative generosity. You give men and women the desire to know you through the beautiful works of your hand, and you give us the intelligence we need to discover truth and beauty in our world.

Today we dedicate this faculty house in honor and memory of Dr. George Craig.

We remember his family, and we pray for their continued consolation.

May future generations of Notre Dame scholars be inspired by the work of George Craig, and carry out their own work with dedication and enthusiasm.

We make this prayer through the intercession of Mary, Notre Dame, the Mother of God and our patroness, and in the name of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit, One God, forever and ever.